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VOL. VI, NO. 2 FEBRUARY, 1967

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COVER COIN: The Lion of St. Mark on an Ionian Obol, 1819.

Photo Courtesy of Alvin G. Nonweiler and Sam Gardiakos

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NUMISMATIC REVIEW
No. 6, 1966

The final issue of the Numismatic Review for 1966 was mailed to our regular subscribers early in February.

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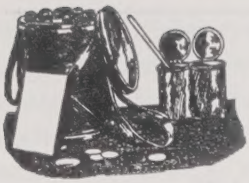

From the Editor's Desk

The tedious task of compiling an index for the past twenty four issues of the *Voice Of The Turtle* is now complete and will in due course be published as a reference for those who need and use such sources. A by-product of this endeavor was the accumulation of some statistical information about the content of this magazine that perhaps may be shared instructively with those of our colleagues who find interest in such things.

Including those people who have submitted photographic material for plates, articles, notes for "Coin Topics" and published letters in "The Agora and the Forum," we can list 84 individual contributors. This number represents about 10% of our subscription lists averaged out over the past two years. Thus one out of each ten of our readers has been impelled by our oft repeated appeals to provide the remainder of our people with the material which has been placed before them each month.

Our display advertisers have numbered 58. All but four of these have placed advertising on more than one occasion. Had your editor been asked offhand to estimate the number of sources for ancient coins he would have guessed about twenty. That there are instead of twenty, at least a half a hundred indicates the large number of people who make ancient coins available to the public and attests to the influence of the *Turtle* at the same time.

We have reviewed 55 books and magazine articles. This represents approximately two new books or articles for each month. No attempt was made to review each magazine article which appeared, not from bias on anyone's part, but because of the lack of space for reviews and the lack of interested people to write these reviews or draw articles to the attention of the editor. We have attempted, as a matted of policy, to review each book which appeared in the English language and intend to continue to do so.

We published 61 feature articles, five sections of the "Numismatic Primer" and 13 individual topics under "Coin Topics" making a total of 79 separate subjects treated in 1965-66. Of these, 25 articles were devoted to Roman numismatics, 19 to Greek coins and 8 to Byzantine topics. We pub-

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lished 10 articles covering medieval Europe and three on the subject of the medieval Middle East which includes Sassanian, Moslem and Arabic numismatics. Only one article covered the ancient Far East while the remaining 13 covered general topics such as metrology, art, design, die sinkling and so forth.

It was stated here at the outset that a balance would be sought among all phases of ancient numismatics, both to enlarge the knowledge of each reader and to attempt to strike close to the interests of all. The breakdown of the subjects treated in the past two years indicates that this balance has been somewhat achieved and that the catholic tastes of our contributors have greatly aided the editor in bringing such a balance into reality.

The initial aim of the *Turtle*, early in its history, was to act as an auction vehicle. After publishing three auctions in 1965, the response as opposed to printing costs caused us to return to making the auction a separate function. As such, the ACCA auction has now gone forth twice under Harold Roepe who has taken on those duties. The editor would here like to point out that the divorce of the *Turtle* from the auction was for the benefit of both, particularly the auction. If the auction is to survive and be a viable vehicle it must have support. Accordingly, readers do *not* automatically receive each auction, they must write to Mr. Roepe to have their names placed on his list. Naturally there is no additional charge. Beyond this, readers who wish the auction to continue *must* help provide coins for the auction.

The ACCA maintains membership in the American Numismatic Association, a national organization for coin collectors, since many of our members are collectors and since this organization attempts to see the various problems collectors may have on a national basis. The editor carries his membership in the ANS in the name of the Ancient Coin Club of America, both to see to it that all ANS publications are received by the editor and that the ACCA appears on the ANS roles. Activities of the Numismatic Society are covered often in the *Turtle*. We estimate that between 40 and 50% of our members are also ANS members. Since the ANS is this country's learned society in numismatics, it is recommended to all our readers.

The activities of the Royal Numismatic Society of England are covered periodically. In addition, the Turtle is exchanged with the Polish Archaeological Society and other numismatic

organizations in Europe and elsewhere. We also exchange with American state organizations, notable those of Texas and California. We attempt to bring news of these organizations and their activities to the attention of our readers where such news is pertinent.

In 24 months, 768 pages of material have been prepared for our readers. Of this total, some 600 plus pages have been devoted to text. This constitutes a good sized book and a limited number of bound volumes will soon be available containing the issues from May 1965 through December 1966. There has been a sincere and conscientious attempt to present diverse and scholarly articles to interest and stimulate. The extent to which we have been successful is, in its final analysis, due to the participation of the 84 people who made the *Turtle* possible these past two years. To them we extend our thanks and we hope they take just and fulsome pride in their magazine.

JOHN E. HARTMANN, EDITOR

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A SECOND LOOK AT SOME 4th CENTURY SICILIAN TETRADRACHMS

by

David B. Hardy

Years ago, as a youngster new at the business of collecting ancient coins, I bought a small book called *Guide to Ancient Coins,* published by Wayte Raymond Inc. in 1944. This 28 page booklet, about the only thing available at the time, opened up a whole new world for me. The first 11 pages consisted of illustrations and brief descriptions of Greek coin types. One, which caught my fancy, was listed thus, "CARTHAGE. Tetradrachm. Head of young Hercules in lion's skin. R. Horse's Head and palm Fine . . . $12.50 Very fine . . . $17.50"[1] (Oh, for the prices in the 'Good Old Days').

I never saw any of these coins for sale, and even if I had, $12.50 was more money than I could have spent. As the years went by, more and more books were added to my library, and this little book was seen less and less. Finally, it and the coin both were all but forgotten.

A few years ago, I began to research the coinage of Alexander the Great. In the course of my research, I ran across this curious coin again. At first, my reaction was to smile to myself and say 'Ah yes, I remember you,' and continue with my work. As I became more proficient in recognizing the likeness of Alexander, it became obvious that this coin bore a striking resemblance to many of those of Alexander. This coin now was no longer just an old friend, it had become an enigma that needed some explanations.

At this point, let me describe this coin type more thoroughly. Dr. Müller[2] lists them in 2 groups based, presumably, on their inscriptions. The first, (Cl. III) has the Punic inscription, the "camp" or "people of the camp," (Merchant or Am Merchant). Head does not agree with Müller on the precise translation. The second, (Cl. IV) reads, the "quaestors" (Mechisbim), which Macdonald translates directly as "the paymasters."

The obverse has no distinguishing marks other than style variations. The reverse, on the other hand, shows a greater variation in overall design, plus the addition of several symbols. Class III has 3 dots, a stalk of grain, or a double stalk of grain. Class IV, a club, a pomegranate, or a caduceus. (Macdonald also lists one in Cl. IV, with an ear of corn.) Both classes have one each with no symbols in the field.

This coin, like any good 'whodunit,' seemed to ask, "Who, Where, When, and Why." So, like a modern day Sherlock

Holmes, we'll take this case point-by-point, and try to suggest some solutions before the end of our story.

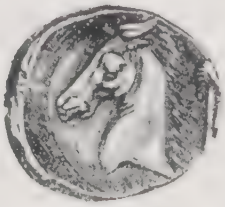
First of all, who made these coins? Our little book from Wayte Raymond says simply, "Carthage." Unfortunately, this is not quite true. (After all, we can't expect to find in 11 pages, all the information the BMC puts in 29 volumes.)

In his catalog of the Hunterian collection, Macdonald lists two specimens under the general heading of "Carthage and Carthaginian possessions."[3] In Seaby's *A Catalog of Greek Coins* by G. Askew, 1951, based originally on Prof. A. B. Cook's collection, the author lists them under the heading of "Sicily," although no authority is given for this designation. In *Historia Numorum*," B. V. Head, speaking of the Punic inscriptions found on these (and other) coins, states that they ". . . cannot be distinctly classed to any particular locality in Sicily. Such coins may therefore be appropriately described as Siculo-Punic, that is to say, as coins struck in Sicily for the payment of the Carthaginian armys."[4] The opinions of other experts may be sited, but the results are always the same. The answer to the question 'Who,' therefore, seems to be that they were Punic people of Carthaginian origin and living in Carthaginian colonies on Sicily.

Our second queston, 'Where,' seems to have been more or less answered with the first. Also, the inscriptions, style, fabric, etc., of these coins is identical with others definitely assigned to Sicily. Evidence gathered from extensive studies seems to leave little doubt that Sicily was indeed their sole point of origin.

In trying to answer our third question, we seem to run into a veritable vacuum of information. All of the aforementioned authorities seem to stick with the 410 to 310 B.C. date. (This is fairly safe, as it coincides with the occupation of Sicily by Carthage). Two experts, however, have made somewhat more positive statements regarding a specific time period. Macdonald states, "Those (coins) modeled on the tetradrachms of Alexander the Great . . . must belong to the period immediately preceding the evacuation of 310 B.C."[5] Head, on the other hand, says, "The resemblance of the head of Herakles on the coins of this series to that on the earliest tetradrachms of Alexander the Great is a valuable indication of date."[6] If we accept these statements that they were copied from coins of Alexander, it then becomes obvious that they could not have been minted earlier than 336 B.C. Due to the evacuation, it seems unlikely that any were made after 310 B.C.

We have now narrowed our dates from 410-310 B.C., to 336-310 B.C. Still not entirely satisfied, I felt there should be some way to narrow these dates even more. The only possible way seemed to be a direct comparison with the original coinage of Alexander. This proved to be a formidable and time consuming job. I should point out that the only material I had to work with was five photographs two of which were not very good. The other three, however, were of fairly high quality.



After literally hundreds of comparisons, I managed tentatively to identify three as being copied from coins minted in the region of Side, Ake, etc. One I could not associate with any issue to my complete satisfaction; and one is almost a perfect copy of the coin illustrated in Margarete Bieber's book, *Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art*. This coin is of special interest because Bieber claims it is the first, true likeness of Alexander on a coin.[7] This coin has been assigned to Babylon, issued in 324 B.C.

These remarkable similarities, however, certainly do not constitute absolute proof. In the light of many other bits of information, much too long to be included in this article, I am personally convinced that these Sicilian coins were indeed copied from the above mentioned issues of Alexander. Granting this to be correct, then the earliest any of these coins could have been minted, would be 333 B.C.

To accept this early date, it would be necessary to assume the coins traveled almost immediately to Sicily, were recognized as a type that should be copied, and were put into immediate production. It must be patently obvious, even to the casual observer, that the likelihood of all these conditions existing simultaneously is about zero. Allowing the passage of a nominal amount of time for the above mentioned conditions to come into being, I believe it is reasonable to assume that these Sicilian Alexanders could not have been made much before 330 B.C. As for the 324 B.C. Babylonian copy, this, along with a general evolution in overall style, would imply

a mintage lasting over a period of a least a decade.

To place these types in their proper order, and determine the validity of the 310 B.C. date, will necessitate a detailed future study of every possible specimen. If sufficient pieces are available for study, the various die combinations represented, may result in establishing a correct continuity for this entire series.

The final question facing us is much like that of an "impulse suicide," that is to say, no convenient note was left behind to give us a clue to the reason for the action. At best, we can only speculate. After weighing several theories, I believe the most logical is that they changed the obverse to more closely resemble a type that had gained wide acceptance in in their trade areas. The reverse continued to use a familiar design in order to be readily identified as one of their own. This reason may be highly speculative, but until such time as some proof is presented, it will do as well as any other.

With oll these 'facts' and theories at hand, we can now summarize our case as follows: First, they were made by people of Punic origin: Second, they were made at various locations in Sicily: Third, they were minted not earlier than 336 B.C., nor later than 310 B.C.: and Fourth, unknown. (Although possibly to compete with the coins of Alexander). It is my hope that someone with more resources at his command than I, will continue this study, bringing it to a successful conclusion.

[1] Raymond, W., *Guide to Ancient Coins*, 1944, p. 11.
[2] Müller, Falbe and Lindberg, *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique*. Reprint, 1956, Vol. II, pp. 75-76.
[3] Macdonald, G., *Catalog of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*. Vol. III, p. 584.
[4] Head, B. V., *Historia Numorum*, 2nd Edition. 1963, p 877.
[5] Macdonald, G., *op. cit.*, p. 584.
[6] Head, B. V. *op. cit.*, p. 878.
[7] Bieber, M., *Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art*, p. 85.

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A Hoard of Roman Folles

By Robert Grossman

Last autumn I had the opportunity to examine a number of Roman folles which an acquaintance of mine had purchased overseas. He assured me that the group represented the entire contents of a hoard which had been uncovered in the summer of 1966. The appearance of the coins seemed to substantiate his statement: all but one were patinated in a fairly uniform green and black, with conditions ranging from fine plus to extremely fine plus. The single maverick piece, listed below as No. 51, appeared to have been cleaned, and was in poorer condition than the others. I consider it to be a post-discovery addition. I recorded as much information as I could in the short time the hoard was available to me, in the hope that I would be able later to determine from the facts available the probable date and place of burial. My conclusions follow the catalogue of coins. The reader can share in the pleasure of making the analysis by reading the concluding paragraphs *after* studying the hoard, and thus reaching an independant judgment.

The catalogue contains the obverse type and inscription, the reverse type and inscription, and the mint marks which appear in exergue on the reverse. I have, of necessity, omitted the letters and symbols which appear on the reverse field. Their purpose has not been conclusively determined and their usefulness in this study would not warrant the additional complication of the catalogue itself. The weights and diameters are all well within the normal ranges for such coins. I have included the diameters of the two Licinian pieces because of the possible value in fixing the date of issue.

The distribution of emperors is as follows: Diocletian (284-305 A.D.) — six pieces; Maximianus (286-305, 306-308, 310 A.D.) — four pieces; Constantius Chlorus (293-305 A. D.) — five pieces: Galerius (303-311 A.D.) — twelve pieces: Maximinus Daza (305-313 A.D.) — twenty-one pieces; Licinius (308-324 A.D.) — two pieces; Maxentius (306-312 A.D.) — one piece. Almost immediately we can say that the hoard was not buried before 308. Further examination moves the date up one more year to 309, when Maximinus Daza became "Augustus" and added that title to his coins (nos. 42-48). The key to determining the *latest* probable

1. IMPCDIOCLETIANVSPFAVG (Emperor r., laur.)	GENIOPOPV-LIROMANI (GENIUS stg. l.)	In ex. ST
2. IMPCCVALDIOCLETIANVSPFAVG	Same as #1	In ex. K Gamma
3. Same as #1	GENIOPOPV-L-IROMANI	In ex. ST
4. Same as #1	Same as #1	In ex. B or R
5. Same as #2	Same as #3	In ex. IITA
6. Same as #2	Same as #3	In ex. TBA
7. IMPCMAMAXIMIANVSPFAVG	GENIOPOPV-LIROMANI	In ex. KE
8. Same as #7	Same as #7	In ex. HTA
9. Same as #7	GENIOPOPV-L-IROMANI	In ex. ANT
10. IMPCMAVRVALMAXIMIANVSPFAVG	GENIOIMP-ERATORIS	In ex. ANT
11. FLVALCONSTANTIVSNOBC	GENIOPOP-VLIROMANI	In ex. E
12. FLVALCONSTANTIVSNOBCAES	GENIOPOPV-L-IROMANI	In ex. TS
13. Same as #12	Same as #12	In ex. SMSD
14. CONSTANTIVSNOBCAES	SACRAMONVRBAVGGETCAESSNN (Moneta stg. l.)	In ex. T
15. Same as #14	SACRAMONETAVGGETCAESSNOSTR	In ex. ST
16. MAXIMIANVSNOBCAES	SACRAMONETAVGGETCAESSNOSTR	In ex. PT
17. Same as #16	SACMONVRBAVGGETCAESSNN	In ex. SMNA
18. GALVALMAXIMIANVSNOBCAES	GENIOPOPV-LIROMANI	In ex. ANT
19. Same as #18	Same as #18	In ex. ANT
20. IMPCGALVALMAXIMIANVSPFAVG	GENIOIMP-ERATORIS	In ex. ANT
21. Same as #20	GENIOIMP-E-RATORIS	In ex. HTA
22. Same as #20	Same as #20	In ex. ALE
23. Same as #20	Same as #20	In ex. ANT
24. Same as #20	GENIO-A-V-GVS-TI	In ex. SMNA
25. Same as #20	VIRTVSEX-ERCITVS (Mars stg. r.)	In ex. ANT
26. GALMAXIMIANVSPFAVG	GENIOA-VGVSTI	In ex. HMV
27. IMPMAXIMIANVSPFAVG	GENIOAV-GVSTI	In ex. SIS
28. GALVALMAXIMINVSNOBCAES	GENIOAVGGET-CAESARVMNN	In ex. K Gamma
29. Same as #28	VIRTVSEX-ERCITVS	In ex. ANT
30. Same as #28	Same as #29	In ex. ANT
31. Same as #28	GENIOCA-ESARIS	In ex. MTA
32. Same as #28	Same as #31	In ex. ANT
33. Same as #28	Same as #31	In ex. ANT
34. Same as #28	Same as #31	In ex. ALE
35. Same as #28	Same as #31	In ex. ANT
36. Same as #28	Same as #31	In ex. ALE
37. Same as #28	Same as #31	In ex. SMNB
38. Same as #28	Same as #31	In ex. ANT
39. Same as #28	Same as #31	In ex. ANT
40. Same as #28	Same as #31	In ex. ALE
41. Same as #28	Same as #31	In ex. ALE
42. IMPCGALVALMAXIMINVSPFAVG	GENIOAV-GVSTI	In ex. SMNB
43. Same as #42	Same as #42	In ex. SMNB
44. Same as #42	Same as #42	In ex. SMNB
45. Same as #42	Same as #42	In ex. SMNB
46. Same as #42	GENIOIMP-ERATORIS	In ex. ANT
47. Same as #42	Same as #46	In ex. ANT
48. Same as #42	GENIOIMP-E-RATORIS	In ex. HT Gamma
49. VALLICINNIANVSLICINNIVSPFAVG	GENIOIMP-ERATORIS	In ex. MKV (24 mm)
50. Same as #49	GENIOA-VGVSTI	In ex. MKV (26 mm)
51. IMPMAXENTIVSPFAVG	CONSERV-VRBSVAE (Roma seated facing in hexastyle temple)	In ex. T

date lies in the two folles of Licinius. Licinius enjoyed complete control of the eastern mints after his defeat of Daza in 313. A burial date much past that year would certainly contain an overwhelming number of Licinian pieces, yet there are only two, and these two pieces are of the largest size for this emperor's issues. This indicates that they were buried long before 324, probably not later than 315. We can further eliminate the years 311-313, for in those years Daza, an enemy of Licinius, was in control of the mint at Cyzicus, a city on the coast of the Sea of Marmara in northwestern Turkey, and the place of origin of the two Licinian coins. It is unlikely that Daza would mint coins honoring Licinius in this tense area. The choices are now limited to 309-310, and 313-c.315. In the former period Galerius was still alive, and able to hold Daza and Licinius in check, in the later period, Daza was dead and Licinius ruled alone. One further bit of evidence weighs the scales in favor of the earlier date. Maximinus Daza was "Caesar" from 305-308, three years, and "Augustus" from 309-313, five years. Coins taken at random out of circulation at the date of his death should contain five coins inscribed AVG for every three inscribed CAES, assuming, as we must, continuous and even distribution from the mint. In fact, CAES folles outnumber AVG folles by two-to-one. This suggests that the hoard was buried much closer to 309 than 313. I suggest 310-311 as the most likely date of burial.

The great predominance of eastern mints, sixteen from Antioch alone, and the predominance of eastern-based emperors as well, points to the middle east as the likely situs of the hoard. If we examine the coins of the most frequently represented emperor, Maximinus Daza, we see that nine are from Antioch, five from Nicomedia, and four from Alexandria. This indicates that the hoard was buried not far distant from Antioch, perhaps somewhat inland (observing the paucity of Alexandrian issues) and far enough to the east to be along the commercial overland route from the area around Nicomedia (Bithynia et Pontus) to Mesopotamia. It is not unlikely that this hoard was found somewhere near the modern city of Aleppo, in the Republic of Syria.

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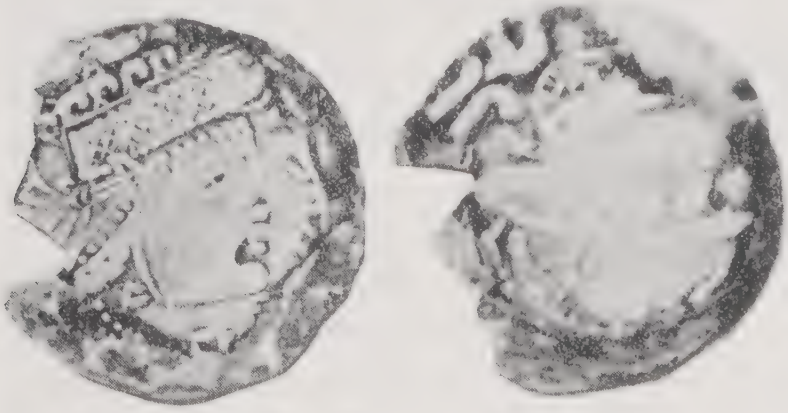
NOTE ON AN APHRIGID COIN

by Raymond J. Hebert

The coin which is the subject of this note was purchased in Teheran in 1964. It is a silver drachm of one of the late Khwarizmian kings of the Aphrigid dynasty which ruled from the third century B.C. to the eighth century A.D. in what is now the Uzbek S.S.R. in the Soviet Union. Despite the broken condition of the coin, the rarity of these coins outside of the Soviet Union warrants some mention of it with an illustration.



The coin which is broken weighs 2.29 grams and is of 26 millimeters diameter. The obverse has the beardless head of a king to the right wearing what may be a crested helmet surrounded by a turban with what may be flaps behind and with a two-stranded necklace. There is a debased Aramaic legend to the right of the face that Tolstoy has read on similar specimens as *Sh'ushpr*. The reverse has a horseman riding a prancing horse to the right, holding what may be a whip upraised with his left hand and reins with his right. He is wearing headgear similar to that of the figure on the obverse, and has a quiver suspended diagonally between his legs. Above the horse's croup, there is an inscription in Kufic script which might be *al-Fadl*, and in the margin, a legend in cursive Khwarizmian script, only the last part of which is visible.

Coins of similar style have been described or discussed by E. Thomas 'Indo-Parthian Coins,' *Numismatic Chronicle* 1870 pp. 142 ff.: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1870 pp. 153 ff.: E. J. Rapson 'On the attribution of certain silver coins of Sassanian fabric,' *NC* 1896 pp. 246 ff.; E. Drouin

'Observations sur les Monnaies a legendes en Pehlevi et Pehlevi-Arabe.' *Revue Archeologique* 1886 p. 66; A. Markov 'Neizdannye arsakidskie monety,' *ZVORAO* VI (1891) p. 301; A. de la Fuye 'Monnaies incertaines de la Sogdiane,' *Revue Numismatique* 1926 pp. 14 ff.; J. de Morgan *Manuel de Numismatique Orientale* (Paris 1923-1936) p. 465; S. P. Tolstov 'Khistorii Khorezmiiskikh Siyavushidov,' *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk*, seriya istorii i filosofii II (1945) p. 275. 'Monety shakhov Drevnego Khorezma i drevnekhorezmiiskii alfabit.' *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* IV (1938) pp. 120 ff.; G. C. Miles. *Rare Islamic Coins* (New York 1950) pp. 10 ff.: R. N. Frye *Notes on the early coinage of Transoxiana* (New York 1949) pp. 16 ff.; U. S. Linder Welin 'Coins from Khwarazm,' *Meddelanden fran Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum* 1961 pp. 162 ff.; and C. Artuk, 'A silver coin of al-Fadhl Sahl,' *Annual of the Archeological Museums of Istanbul* 1964 p. 148.

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Elsewhere in The Numismatic World

The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies has announced the reprinting of Volume I through X of the *Journal of Roman Studies*. These are available from Kraus Reprint Limited, 9491 Nendeln Liechtenstein. The price is $15.00 per single volume; $148.50 for all ten.

AID TO FLORENCE: Various learned societies in the United States and abroad are establishing special funds to aid libraries: museums and other institutions in the recovery, restoration and replacement of manuscripts, objets d'art, etc. Members of the ACCA who wish to contribute to such projects may do so through either the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies or the Classical Association, or the American Institute of Archaeology all at 31 Gordon Square, London W. C. 1, England. If further details are desired the editor may be contacted. All ACCA members with an interest in the preservation of classical and medieval material are urged to consider some form of contribution.

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF IRELAND: NORTHERN BRANCH: The Honorable Secretary, Mr. S. G. Rowe, announces the spring program. Scheduled for March 10 is D. Allen who will speak on Celtic Coinage and Britain. On April 14th papers will be presented by various members. The group meets at the library of Ulster Museum, Stanmillis, Belfast.

CINCINNATI: Through an editorial error the announcement of the important January meeting of the Cincinnati Chapter failed to appear in the *Turtle*. The group in that city is extremely active and very anxious that all readers in the area make themselves known personally to the local coordinator so that he may keep them advised. Hence, if you live in the Cincinnati area, contact Bill Lyon, 6908 Madisonville Road. The next meeting is scheduled in Room 409 of the YWCA at 9th and Walnut on April 8, 1967.

ANS: The 109th annual meeting was held on January 14th.
GALERIE DES MONNAIES S.A.: Announces their new address: Casa postale 111, 1000 Lausanne 3 Cour., Switzerland.

SOCIETE ROYALE DE NUMISMATIQUE BELGIQUE: An announcement has been received covering works published by the Society and their availability to the public. The Society

publishes the *Revue Belge de Numismatique et de Sigillo-gra-phie* and has now subscriptions, reprints and indices available. Those interested in the Society, its publications or in receiving the latest list of Society material should correspond with: Monsieur Jean Jadot. Tresorier de la Societe, 22 avenue Louise, Bruxelles (Brussels) 5, Belgium.

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And hereabouts they lie.
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Mislaid the coin we have found today.
Here is Faustina. Why?

JOHN R. BUTLER

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Coins and Medals of the State of the Ionian Islands

by

S. P. Lambros

After the sack of Constantinople by the Turks, it was not long until the rest of the provinces of the Byzantine State fell under their iron rule. Of all the Latin conquerors who earlier had established themselves in the East, only the Venetians were able to resist Turkish expansion, but even though they fought bravely they too were forced in the end to lose their possessions.

The last Venetian strongholds fell one by one. In 1571 the Turks conquered Cyprus; in 1669, after twenty-five years of continuous bloody wars, they finally were able to subdue the resistance of Crete. As for the Seven Islands of the Ionian Sea and their dependencies on the Greek mainland, these became the last spots in Greece which were fortunate enough to escape the fate of the rest of the nation, Turkish conquest. They remained held by the nails of the Venetian lion until the end of the eighteenth century. It seems to have been ordained and prearranged that they would become the forerunners of the renaissance of the Greek nation in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The new ideas which spread throughout the world as a result of the French Revolution created a source of fear for some of the other European states. Several rulers allied themselves and started to collaborate against France. But at the peak of the general excitement, Venice thought it in her best interests to keep an austere neutrality hoping by this policy to preserve her independence. But when the French legions, with Napoleon Bonaparte as their leader, passed the Alps and defeated the allied armies, they subsequently conquered Lombardy and then immediately invaded the territory of the Venetian state. At this moment those who ruled the fortunes of the old, but once glorious Venetian nobility, awakened finally from their lethargy and started to take special measures to save the capital. Bonaparte, however, after he defeated the Austrian armies, ordered his legions to march against Venice and it was not long before they came to the edges of the city.

At this time, Venice had still considerable army and naval forces which could defend the city for a long time. But the spirit and the morale of the Venetians had already declined and it was impossible for them to make any brave decision.

When Bonaparte sent his terms, which ordered the disbandment of the old aristocratic constitution and the establishment of a democratic government, Doge Manino called the great council to discuss whether they would defend the city or accept the French terms. When the council met on May 12, 1797, it was decided, 512 votes to 20, to forego Venetian independence. So the defeated Venice, disarmed by her own government, was captured by an army of 4,000 Frenchmen who immediately entered the city. The French, after the ceremonial planting of the tree of liberty and the symbolic burning of the symbols and crests of the old constitution in front of it, established a provisional government.

While these events were taking place in the city of Venice, the supreme governor *(Provveditore generale)* of the Ionian possessions of Venice was Count Carl Aurelius Widmar, who had his seat at Corfu (Kerkyra). In addition to the seven islands (Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Santa Maura, Itaca, Cerigo and Paxo), his territory included the cities of the mainland, Vouthroto, Parga, Vonitza and Prevesa. For a long time, having been neglected by the central government of Venice, Count Widmar, who at this time was desperate without money, arms and ammunition, begged the pity of the inhabitants of his territories, asking for loans from the communities of the islands and a number of citizens. But, for the severe needs of the time, it was impossible to raise sufficient money from the generosity of the above-mentioned sources. So Widmar under the circumstances could count only on divine Providence as a source of help for the defense of Corfu.

Meanwhile, Bonaparte, in complete secrecy, was organizing the conquest of the Islands and the capture of the Venetian warships stationed in the port of Corfu. On June 28, 1797, a fleet formed of French and captured Venetian men-of-war, carrying 1500 French soldiers under the orders of General Gentili, entered the port of Corfu. A proclamation by the French general publicized on placards posted the next day, announced that instead of the fallen aristocratic constitution, the people of the Ionian Islands were given the rights proclaimed by the French Revolution: "Liberty, equality, fraternity." The French army landed to band music, the enthusiastic cheers of the people and the sound of church bells. In Corfu, with the same ceremony and parades, democracy was established, the tree of liberty was planted with many celebrations, and the tri-colored French flags were raised at the forts. The flags of Saint Mark and the "libro d'oro" were

burned to the cheers of the people and the symbols of Venetian rule were destroyed with much disdain. In a short time, by the Treaty of Campoformio signed October 17, 1797, the Ionian Islands, Vouthroto, Vonitsa and all the Venetian possessions on the coastland of Epirus were delivered to the absolute sovereignty of the French democracy.

After the official proclamation of the Ionian Islands as a French possession, they were divided into three "names" and the French constitution was put into effect. A number of improvements were made in the organization of public service, especially in the area of public education. Public grammar schools were established as well as a library, a military school and a public printing office. But the efforts of the French to improve and organize the interior and the civil government of the islands were forced by international political developments to give way to the organization of the islands' defense.

In September, 1798, a pact of alliance was signed between the Russian and the Ottoman Empires and, before long, England was added as a third party. Then the three great powers proclaimed war against France. A united Russian and Turkish fleet under the command of Vice-Admiral Ushakov and Katir-Bey passed through the Hellespont and sailed toward the Ionian Islands. The commanders of the fleet of the allied powers proclaimed that they were acting "in the name of Jesus Christ against the French atheists" as proclaimed in a Circular of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople, issued by the patriarch Gregory V under the pressure of the Sublime Porte. To the people of the Ionian Islands the allies promised a free and independent government and in this way succeeded in getting the islanders to rise up against the French. The fleet of the allied powers was enthusiastically received and on September 22 occupied Cerigo (Kethera), after a month, Zante, in a few more days Cephalonia and Ithaca, and Leucas (Santa Maura) on November 17. In the meantime, Ali-Pasha of Jannina conquered Vouthroto and Prevesa. The city of Parga, after the withdrawal of the French garrison, was considered a Russian protectorate.

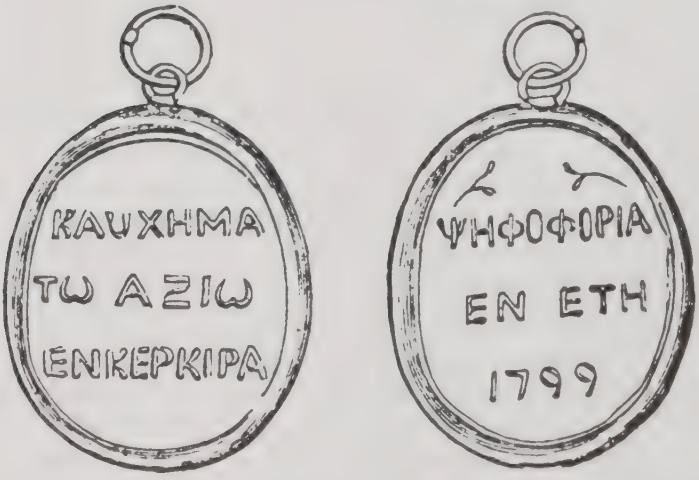
But the easy conquest of the majority of the Ionian Islands didn't make it easy to conquer Corfu where the forts were well equipped and defended by a considerable French force. On November 5, seven warships from the allied fleet arrived in Corfu and the rest joined them on the 19th. The army of the allies landed and took some key positions around the for-

tified city, dug trenches and armed their strong holds. Later they enlisted many Corfiote peasants, and when they were reinforced by 6,000 Albanians sent by Ali-Pasha, they organized the tactical plan of the siege and began to attack the French positions. During the earlier stage of the siege, the French successfully defended their positions against the attacking forces and also counterattacked, obliging Ushakov to delay further action. Then, when the newly arrived English commander, Stuart, submitted to Ushakov that the occupation of the island Vido in the port of Corfu was the key position for the success of her siege, the allied forces attacked it. The French defended it bravely in the bloody battle which followed, but they lost their position. Then the French army, already tired by the long siege and especially by the lack of provisions, surrendered their arms to the allies by treaty on Februray 25, 1799, and embarked on commercial ships which sailed to Toulon under the protection of a Russian man-of-war. Thus ended the French rule of the Ionian Islands which lasted for twenty months.

In my collection is included a silver war medal which is illustrated here. Its inscription is given in translation.

OBV. *Praise to the noteworthy in Corfu*

REV. *Voted in the year 1799*



Actually, I don't know if this medal was struck by the French or the Russians or on what occasion. Also it is unknown to me if this medal was struck in one specimen or more.

To immortalize the event of the "liberation" of Corfu by the

allied forces, the people of Cephalonia struck the following medal in 1800 for Vice-admiral Ushakov.

1. OBV. *Theodore Ushakov, Chief Admiral of Russo-Asia, excellent, pious.* Portrait of Ushakov R. date 1800 (awarded by the citizens of the island). REV. *To the Saviour of all the Ionian Islands, Cephalonia.* The coastal fortifications of the old fortress of Corfu, amidst which is depicted the bridge uniting them with the city and the small island of Vido in the port. Between the island and the fort, two Turkish men-of-war; on the other side of Vido, one Turkish and five Russian men-of-war.

A gold specimen of this medal was offered to Ushakov and silver specimens to the captains of the Russian men-of-war. The engraver who prepared the dies was a goldsmith from the city of Argostolion in Cephalonia named Constantine Bourbachis, grandfather of the renowned general who later became well known in France. The specimen in my collection is of silver.

Another golden medal awarded to Ushakov in 1800 by the people of Ithaca is described below.

2. OBV. Odysseus standing to left, wearing breastplates, sword and helmet. Holds small shield and spear with his left hand.

ODYSSEYS

REV. Crown of palmettes ending in a lion's head. On it the inscription:

Praised knight of the Ithacesians
Theodore Ushakov
accept this gift demonstrative
of our piety
1800

This ligatured and puzzling inscription can be seen in detail in the drawing of Pl. I.

Steel dies were not used for this medal, but it was constructed of two embossed plaquettes. It was made by a goldsmith from Ithaca named Tzanetos Arsenis or Lysidikas. In my collection I have a lead cast of the original.

When the Russians and the Turks conquered the Ionian Islands and peace was reestablished, a provisional government was installed, headed by Angelo Orio. An embassy of twelve was elected to represent the interests of the islands in the courts of Petrograd and Constantinople. This embassy went to Constantinople and delivered a petition to the Sultan requesting the recognition of the Ionian State as an independent, sovereign, free and federal entity protected by all the

great powers of Europe. After long discussions, proposals and counterproposals between the Russian and the Ottoman courts, the text of the treaty was concluded and signed in Constantinople on March 21, 1800. This document established the political existence of the state of the Ionian Islands as a confederation under the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte, and the undivided form of the state and the preservation of its constitution was guaranteed by the Emperor of Russia. The same rights and privileges obtained by the city of Ragusa were given to the Ionian State, but the cities of Prevesa, Vouthroto and Vonitsa were given to the Ottoman Empire. The part of the Ionian embassy in Constantinople, consisting of the ambassadors Antonia Maria Capodistria and Nicolo Sigouro Desylla, disobeying the orders of the Senate of the Islands and without the collaboration of the rest of the embassy in Petrograd, then drew up a constitution, based on aristocratic principles, restoring the rights of the Ionian nobility which had been negated by the French. These men, closely attached to the past, did not even accept on the flag of the new state the proposed mythical phoenix as a symbol of the national renaissance and herald of the resurrection of the Greek nation. Instead they preserved the Venetian winged lion of Saint Mark, holding the book of the Gospels with his right paw with seven arrows which were added as symbols of the Ionian confederated state.

(To be continued)

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BOOK REVIEWS

SPERBER, DANIEL, "Denarii and Aurei in the Time of Diocletion", *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. LVI, London, 1966.

One of the most complex historical-numismatic problems is that of the decline of the imperial money system in the third century and the subsequent reforms instituted by Diocletian and Constantine.

The denarius continued in use as the unit of account, although as a coin *(unless as some scholars assert the antoninianus is the denarius)* its mintage for all practical purposes was discontinued after c. 245. The extent to which inflation apparently took place has led some scholars to deny that the denarius of the 4th century documents is the same as that represented by the coin of the 1st and 2nd centuries.

The coins of post-reform period are unknown either as to the name they bore (folles is derived from a word meaning leather purse, hence follis is intitially a generic rather than specific term) or their relationships to each other. The surviving documents are hopelessly confusing in their references to monetary units and prices.

Into this arena of confusion, the author has attempted to establish a hypothesis based upon passages found in the Talmud as to the relationship of the denarius to the Aureus in the period c. 305.

He endeavors to show that the reading of the *Edict of Prices* showing the *libra aurei* as 50,000 denarii is correct, that the ratio of denarius to aureus was 1:800 and that the libra aureus as bullion bore a market value of 4% (2000 denarii) over the number of coins minted from the pound.

If one is willing to accept that the rendering of the Semitic "mana" is equal to the drachma which is in turn equal to the denarius and further that 200 mana (denarii) equal one fourth of a gold piece (aureus), then one is able to follow the author's hypothesis to his conclusion, bolstered by additional evidence from the numerical relationships in the *Edict of Prices* itself.

Whether one accepts the reasoning of the author the article is still valuable as an attempt to draw some kind of order into a most confused system and perhaps will stimulate further research into this baffling problem. JOHN E. HARTMANN

BRUNT, P. A. "The Fiscus and its Development," *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. LVI, London, 1966.

Chief Justice John Marshall, in one of his famous decisions, asserted that the ". . . power to tax is the power to destroy." In essence the control of the finances of state is a very real indication of the power and administration of that state. One aspect of Roman history poorly treated in the sources and not often explored by historians is that of the imperial finances.

In 1963 in the *JRS*, Fergus Millar propounded the thesis that the imperial fiscus was indistinguishable from the "res familiaris" and that it referred only to the emperor's private wealth, his "patrimonium". Millar then had to contend that the *aerarium*, the public treasury, had a separate and distinct existence and function at least during the first two centuries of the principate.

Brunt attempts to refute Millar, contending that the word "fiscus" had diverse meanings, some of which were generic, some legal in private

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law and that gradually over the first two centuries the private monies of the emperor and the public monies of the state became indistinguishable until at last the fiscus as a term did embrace all the financial transactions of the government as well as the emperor's private patrimonium.

JOHN E. HARTMANN

FREDERICKSON, M. W. "Caesar, Cicero and the Problem of Debt," *Journal of Roman Studies,* Vol. LVI, London, 1966.

The author discusses indebtedness in the late Republic and its severe consequences and attempts both to recapture the intent of and the date of the lost *Lex Iulia de Bonus Cedendis* by which the concept *of cessio bonorum,* bankruptcy, was introduced into Roman life.

Mr. Frederickson feels that the *Lex Iulia* is as instrument of Caesar's and not of Augustus, that it began to be conceived as early as 49 BC when Caesar returned to Rome and that of all the social and economic legislation of Caesar, this perhaps is both his most humane and enduring.

JOHN E. HARTMANN

AMSTELL, MARGARET. *A Start to Coin Collecting. English Coins Elizabeth II to Charles II.* London 1966. 78 pp., 81 illus. $2.20

For the collector of English coins, and especially the beginner, this methodical introduction, charming in style, is definitely a must. This appears to be the first volume of a series, and hopefully the later books will provide collectors with similar information on other series of English and world coins.

The *Explanation of Numismatic Terms and Abbreviations* (pp. 11-13) answers many questions that a numismatic novice may have, and in a masterful way as only a professional numismatist like Miss Amstell can do, clearly and to the point. The same can be said for the excellent arrangement of the Legends and Mottoes on English coins (pp. 14-16) where the Latin inscriptions appearing on the coins of all the rulers of England from 1660 to 1966 appear with their English translations.

What is most interesting is the valid emphasis given to the historical events related to coins. One has the pleasant feeling that he has at last found one of the books which he wished to have in the early days of his numismatic study. When you finish reading this work you will wish there were more to read, and feel that it is an injustice that the readable introductions like this are so short, while the ponderous ones are so long.

Miss Amstell's book will please collectors of the English series from 1660 to the present and should create more students of English numismatics. It is a necessary acquisition for any numismatic library and an ideal original to be followed by writers of similar works. The only failing of this excellent book is the absence of an annotated bibliography which might have guided the reader toward further study.

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